

it nearly doubled what they raised during the last cycle.

When compared to election cycles further back, the numbers become all the more jolting. The 1996 soft money record that was blown away by this cycle's fundraising was itself 242 percent higher than the 1992 soft money fundraising in the case of Democrats and in the case of Republicans 178 percent higher. The roughly \$262 million in party soft money raised in 1992, itself, dwarfed the approximately \$19 million raised in the 1980 cycle, and the \$21.6 million raised in the 1984 cycle was also dwarfed by those numbers.

The bottom line is that since soft money, and the loophole that allowed it into our political system, entered the system some 20 years ago, it has grown exponentially in each cycle, from barely \$20 million in total in 1980 to nearly \$500 million—a half a billion dollars—last year. And it is difficult to see any end in sight to this exponential growth of soft money except S. 27, the McCain-Feingold campaign finance reform proposal.

Is it any wonder, with these numbers, that the American people—they who are supposed to be the true source of our Government's authority—have been so turned off by politics that many of them no longer trust our Government or even bother to vote?

This must end or our noble journey in self-government will veer further and further from its principled course. When the price of entry to our democracy's discussions starts to approach the average American's annual salary, something is terribly wrong. When we have a two-tiered system of access and influence—one for the average volunteer and one for the big contributor—something is terribly wrong. And when the big contributor's ticket is for a front-row seat, while the voter's is for standing room only, something is most definitely terribly wrong.

Our opponents will continue, I understand, to see the situation differently. Money, they tell us, is just speech in another form. And the outlandish increases we have seen in political giving, they say, are actually signs of the vibrancy of our marketplace of ideas. It is a market place all right, but what is for sale is most certainly not ideas, and what is threatened most certainly is not free speech.

Free speech is a principle we all hold dear. But free speech is about the inalienable right every American has to express his or her views without Government interference. It is about the vision the framers of our Constitution enshrined in that great document, a vision that ensures both we in Congress and those outside—every citizen—will never be forced to compromise our American birth right to offer opinions, even and particularly when those are unpopular or discomfiting to those in power.

That simply is not at issue in this debate, not at issue as a result of the McCain-Feingold proposal. Absolutely

nothing in this bill will do anything to diminish or threaten any American's right to express his or her views about candidates running for office or about any problem or any issue in American life. Indeed, if more money in the system were a sign of more Americans speaking and more Americans being better informed, then we would have significantly more vibrant elections, dramatically more informative campaigns, increasingly larger voter turnout, and better and better public debates than we had 20 years ago before soft money exploded onto the scene.

I challenge anyone in this body or outside to say that is the case. It most certainly is not. To the contrary, this campaign finance reform proposal would actually enhance our polity's free speech rights. Under the current system, the voice of monied interests drowns out the voice of average Americans, often preventing them from being truly heard in our public policy debates. In that sense, it is the current system, with its addiction to soft money and all its maleffects, that limits free speech, and it is this bill, the McCain-Feingold bill, that will restore Americans' true ability to exercise their rights of expression without limit and with full effect.

In short, Mr. President, what would be threatened by this bill is not speech but something entirely different, the ever increasing and disproportionate power that those with money have in our political system. That is threatening a principle that I would guess all of us hold just as dearly—perhaps more dearly—as the principle of free speech, and that is the principle of democracy, that literally sacred ideal that shaped our Republic and still does, which promises that each person has one vote and that each and every one of us, to paraphrase the words from the Bible, from the heads of the tribes to the priests of the temple to the hewers of wood and the bearers of water, each of us has an equal right and an equal ability to influence the workings of our government.

As it stands now, it is that sacred principle—I use that adjective intentionally—that is under attack. It is that sacred principle that will remain under attack until we do something to protect it. That something, I submit, is campaign finance reform.

Unless we act to reform our campaign finance system, people with money will continue, as they give it, to have a disproportionate influence in our system. The American people will continue to lose faith in our government's institutions and their independence, and the genius of our Republic, that it is our citizenship, not our status, that gives each of us equal power to play a role in our country's government, will be lost.

Before yielding the floor, I will say a couple of words about some of the alternative plans that have been proposed. As do Senators MCCAIN and FEINGOLD, I welcome any sincere effort

at reform. None of us would ever presume to say that our way is the only way. What we will absolutely reject is any suggestion that something is reformed just because a person who proposes it says it is reformed.

The problem we are dealing with, as I have said this evening, is that there is too much money in the system coming from sources such as corporations and unions that under our laws are not supposed to be contributing to these national elections at all and coming from individuals who, since the post-Watergate reforms, were supposed to give a limited amount, no more than \$2,000 to any one campaign. Anyone with a proposal that does not address this critical problem, which is the problem of soft money and the loophole that has invited it, is not proposing reform. That is the essence of what this is about. It is that simple, ultimately.

For example, I have heard some say that true campaign finance reform requires so-called paycheck protection. I oppose that principle on its merits. It is a bad idea under any circumstances. There are others who support McCain-Feingold who disagree with me and support paycheck protection who think it is a good idea. All of us should be able to agree that whatever we think of paycheck protection on its own, it is not campaign finance reform. It won't get a single dollar that should not be in our political system out of the system. It won't do a single thing to stop the most malignant aspect of our campaign finance system today, which is unlimited soft money.

The bottom line is this: For too long we have watched as our Nation's greatest treasure, its commitment to democracy, has been pillaged by the ever escalating chase for money. It is time for this Senate to say that enough is enough, to remove the disproportionate power of some over our political system, and to restore the political influence and confidence to where our Nation's founding principles say it should be—with the people, with the voters.

Over the next couple of weeks, important weeks in the history of this Senate and Nation, that is what we can do. I pray that we will.

I thank the Chair. I thank my colleagues.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT—S. 420

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that with respect to S. 420, amendments numbered 43, 54, and 66 be modified or further modified with the changes at the desk. These changes are needed to make technical corrections.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendments, as modified, are as follows:

AMENDMENT NO. 43, AS MODIFIED

On page 134, line 11 of amendment number 68, strike "discharge a debtor" and insert "discharge an individual debtor".

On page 244, line 8, strike “described in section 523(a)(2)” and insert “described in subparagraph (A) or (B) of section 523(a)(2) that is owed to a domestic governmental unit or owed to a person as the result of an action filed under subchapter III of chapter 37 of title 31, United States Code, or any similar State statute.”.

AMENDMENT NO. 54, AS FURTHER MODIFIED

On page 13 of amendment number 68 strike line 1 and all that follows through line 3, and insert the following:

“(f) Notwithstanding subsections (a) and (b), the court shall not grant a discharge of all debts provided for by the plan or disallowed under section 502, if the debtor has received a discharge: (1) in a case filed under chapter 7, 11 or 12 of this title during the three-year period preceding the date of the order for relief under this chapter, or (2) in a case filed under chapter 13 of this title during the two-year period preceding the date of such order, except that if the debtor demonstrates extreme hardship requiring that a chapter 13 case be filed, the court may shorten the two-year period.”.

AMENDMENT NO. 66, AS FURTHER MODIFIED

Strike line 1, page 22 to line 17, page 22 of amendment number 68 and insert in lieu thereof—

“(f) An individual debtor in a case under chapter 7, 11, or 13 shall file with the court at the request of the Judge, U.S. Trustee, or any party in interest—

“(1) at the time filed with the taxing authority, the Federal tax returns or transcript thereof required under applicable law, with respect to the period from the commencement of the case until such time as the case is closed;

“(2) at the time filed with the taxing authority, the Federal tax returns or transcript thereof required under applicable law, that were not filed with the taxing authority when the schedules under subsection (a)(1) were filed with respect to the period that is 3 years before the order of relief;

“(3) any amendments to any of the Federal tax returns or transcripts thereof, described in paragraph (1) or (2); and”.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 9:30 A.M. TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands adjourned until 9:30 a.m. on Tuesday, March 20, 2001.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 7:17 p.m., adjourned until Tuesday, March 20, 2001, at 9:30 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 19, 2001:

COAST GUARD

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE UNITED STATES COAST GUARD UNDER TITLE 14, U.S.C., SECTION 211:

To be ensign

QUINCEY N ADAMS, 0000
MARCH AKUS, 0000
LISA A ALBRECHT, 0000
NATHAN W ALLEN, 0000
RYAN J ALLEN, 0000
CHRISTOPHER M ARMSTRONG, 0000
AMANDA M AUSFELD, 0000
CHARLES L BANKS JR., 0000
DAVID M BAUER, 0000
ANDREW J BEHNKE, 0000
JOSEPH T BENIN, 0000
MICHAEL A BENSON, 0000
JONATHAN D BERKSHIRE, 0000
ROBERT J BERRY II, 0000

FRED S BERTSCH IV, 0000
VALERIE A BOUCHARD, 0000
RUBEN E BOUDREAU, 0000
KEVIN C BOYD JR., 0000
MICHAEL J BOYES, 0000
JEFFREY A BREWER, 0000
CHAD R BRICK, 0000
MORGAN T BROWN, 0000
BRYAN J BURKHALTER, 0000
CRAIG R BUSH, 0000
RICHARD C BUTLER, 0000
JESSICA M BYLSMA, 0000
MICHAEL J CALHOUN, 0000
IAN L CALLANDER, 0000
BRIAN R CARROLL, 0000
PAUL R CASEY, 0000
ERIC M CASPER, 0000
JACOB L CASS, 0000
JOSEPH L CASTANEDA, 0000
BARBARA CHABIOR, 0000
RYAN M CHEVALIER, 0000
MICHAEL P CHIEN, 0000
MELISSA CHILDERS, 0000
SCOTT P CIEPLIK, 0000
TRAVIS S COLLIER, 0000
JOSEPH R COOPER, 0000
MICHAEL N COST, 0000
JUSTIN K COVERT, 0000
WILLIAM G CROCKER, 0000
JAMIE B CRONENBERGER, 0000
MELISSA J CURREN, 0000
STACIA F Cwiklinski, 0000
TIO C DEVANEY, 0000
MICHAEL S DIPACE, 0000
AARON N DOWE, 0000
KEVIN P DUFFY, 0000
MARY M DWYER, 0000
DANIEL J EVERETTE, 0000
CHRISTOPHER W FEETIG, 0000
JAMES W FIFE III, 0000
ROBERT B FINLEY, 0000
FRANK J FLORIO III, 0000
ZACHARY R FORD, 0000
MATTHEW P FRAZEE, 0000
BRIAN B GALLEANO, 0000
LEE E GITSCHIER, 0000
ROBERT H GOMEZ, 0000
KRISTA J GORDON, 0000
JOHN A GOSHORN, 0000
BROOKE E GRANT, 0000
RICHARD O GUNAGAN, 0000
GREGORY M HAAS, 0000
RUSSELL S HALL, 0000
JEREMY M HALL, 0000
MARCUS A HANDY, 0000
BYRON H HAYES, 0000
ANDREW J HOAG, 0000
JONATHAN R HOFLICH, 0000
WHITNEY H HOUCK, 0000
SAMUEL J HUDSON, 0000
NICOLAS A JARBOE, 0000
MAX M JENNY, 0000
CHRISTOPHER D JOHNS, 0000
DAVID F JOHNSON, 0000
MICHAEL A KARNATH, 0000
ROBIN H KAWAMOTO, 0000
KEVIN A KEENAN, 0000
KRISTY A KENDIG, 0000
TIMOTHY J KEYSER, 0000
AJA L KIRKSEY, 0000
MAURA L KOLARCIK, 0000
JOHN P KOUSCH, 0000
DAVID J KOWALCZYK JR., 0000
KEVIN M KURCZEWSKI, 0000
ERIKA J LINDBERG, 0000
COLIN B MACINNES, 0000
MAUREEN D MAJEWSKI, 0000
PAUL J MANGINI, 0000
KELLY MASTROTOTARO, 0000
RYAN P MATSON, 0000
JOSEPH W MATTHEWS, 0000
MICHAEL D MCDONNELL, 0000
BRANDON P MCGOWAN, 0000
BLAKE A MCKINNEY, 0000
JAMES D MCMANUS, 0000
BRAD M MCNALLY, 0000
JOSEPH W MCPHERSON III, 0000
JOHN M MCTAMNEY IV, 0000
SARA M MESERVE, 0000
LAURA K MILLEN, 0000
JASON R MITCHELL, 0000
FRANCISCO L MONTALVO, 0000
LEAH F MOONEY, 0000
BENJAMIN P MORGAN, 0000
MATTHEW A MOYER, 0000
RYAN T MURPHY, 0000
MICHAEL P NEEDHAM, 0000
MARK R NEELAND, 0000
DION K NICELY, 0000
JUSTIN W NOGGLE, 0000
KAREN A NORCROSS, 0000
GREGORY F NORTE, 0000
MARTIN L NOSSETT IV, 0000
JAMES M OMARA IV, 0000
ROGER E OMENHISER JR., 0000
MARK G ORLANDO, 0000
BRENDAN P OSHEA, 0000
SCOTT D OSTROWSKI, 0000
ANDREA J PARKER, 0000
CHESTER A PASSIC, 0000
JEFFREY L PAYNE, 0000
JAMIE M PENDERGRASS, 0000
THOMAS T PEQUIGNOT, 0000
DONTRE D PERRY, 0000
CATHERINE A PHILLIPS, 0000
JEFFREY R PLATT, 0000
JORGE PORTO, 0000

CHRIS R PRAY, 0000
KEVIN J PUZDER, 0000
KEITH D PUZDER, 0000
MEREDITH A QUEEN, 0000
MEG M RAPELYE, 0000
JENNIFER S RAYWOOD, 0000
SHEILA A REISER, 0000
THOMAS J RILEY III, 0000
PAUL G RISHAR, 0000
KATINA M ROGERS, 0000
KYLE W RYAN, 0000
JAN A RYBKA, 0000
KEVIN B SAUNDERS, 0000
BENJAMIN J SCHLUCKEBIER, 0000
HEATHER N SENYKOFF, 0000
BROOK W SHERMAN, 0000
JOSEPH F SILKOWSKI, 0000
KAREN SIMON, 0000
LORING V SITTTLER, 0000
LAURA J SMOLINSKI, 0000
JOAN SNAITH, 0000
EDWARD L SOLIVEN, 0000
TERRY A STADERMAN II, 0000
JESSICA R STYRON, 0000
JAMES K TERRELL, 0000
EMILY L THARP, 0000
ALLYSON M THOMPSON, 0000
KRISTINA L THOMSEN, 0000
DAVID A TORRES, 0000
MICHAEL A VENTURELLA, 0000
MATTHEW J WALKER, 0000
WILLIAM R WALKER, 0000
TERRANCE F WALLACE, 0000
JAMES W WIMBERLEY JR., 0000
CHRISTOPHER L WRIGHT, 0000
KATHRYN L WUNDERLICH, 0000

IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE RESERVE OF THE AIR FORCE TO THE GRADE INDICATED UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 12203:

To be major general

BRIG. GEN. JAMES SANDERS, 0000
BRIG. GEN. DAVID E. TANZI, 0000

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE TO THE GRADE INDICATED UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 624:

To be major general

BRIG. GEN. KEVIN P. CHILTON, 0000
BRIG. GEN. JOHN D. W. CORLEY, 0000
BRIG. GEN. TOMMY F. CRAWFORD, 0000
BRIG. GEN. CHARLES E. CROOM JR., 0000
BRIG. GEN. DAVID A. DEPTULA, 0000
BRIG. GEN. GARY R. DYLEWSKI, 0000
BRIG. GEN. MICHAEL A. HAMEL, 0000
BRIG. GEN. JAMES A. HAWKINS, 0000
BRIG. GEN. GARY W. HECKMAN, 0000
BRIG. GEN. JEFFREY B. KOHLER, 0000
BRIG. GEN. EDWARD L. LAFONTAINE, 0000
BRIG. GEN. DENNIS R. LARSEN, 0000
BRIG. GEN. DANIEL P. LEAF, 0000
BRIG. GEN. MAURICE L. MCFANN JR., 0000
BRIG. GEN. RICHARD A. MENTEMEYER, 0000
BRIG. GEN. DALE W. MEYERROSE, 0000
BRIG. GEN. PAUL D. NIELSEN, 0000
BRIG. GEN. THOMAS A. O'RIORDAN, 0000
BRIG. GEN. WILBERT D. PEARSON JR., 0000
BRIG. GEN. QUENTIN L. PETERSON, 0000
BRIG. GEN. LORRAINE K. POTTER, 0000
BRIG. GEN. JAMES G. ROUDEBUSH, 0000
BRIG. GEN. MARY L. SAUNDERS, 0000
BRIG. GEN. JOSEPH B. SOVEY, 0000
BRIG. GEN. JOHN M. SPEIGEL, 0000
BRIG. GEN. CRAIG P. WESTON, 0000
BRIG. GEN. DONALD J. WETEKAM, 0000
BRIG. GEN. GARY A. WINTERBERGER, 0000

WITHDRAWALS

Executive message transmitted by the President to the Senate on March 19, 2001, withdrawing from further Senate consideration the following nominations:

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED PERSONS TO THE POSITIONS INDICATED, WHICH WERE SENT TO THE SENATE ON JANUARY 3, 2001:

BONNIE J. CAMPBELL, OF IOWA, TO BE UNITED STATES CIRCUIT JUDGE FOR THE EIGHTH CIRCUIT, VICE GEORGE G. FAGG, RETIRED.

JAMES E. DUFFY, JR., OF HAWAII, TO BE UNITED STATES CIRCUIT JUDGE FOR THE NINTH CIRCUIT, VICE CYNTHIA HOLCOMB HALL, RETIRED.

BARRY P. GOODE, OF CALIFORNIA, TO BE UNITED STATES CIRCUIT JUDGE FOR THE NINTH CIRCUIT, VICE CHARLES E. WIGGINS, RETIRED.

ROGER L. GREGORY, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE UNITED STATES CIRCUIT JUDGE FOR THE FOURTH CIRCUIT, VICE A NEW POSITION CREATED BY PUBLIC LAW 101-650, APPROVED DECEMBER 1, 1990, TO WHICH POSITION HE WAS APPOINTED DURING THE LAST RECESS OF THE SENATE.

KATHLEEN MCCREE LEWIS, OF MICHIGAN, TO BE UNITED STATES CIRCUIT JUDGE FOR THE SIXTH CIRCUIT, VICE CORNELIA G. KENNEDY, RETIRED.

ENRIQUE MORENO, OF TEXAS, TO BE UNITED STATES CIRCUIT JUDGE FOR THE FIFTH CIRCUIT, VICE WILLIAM L. GARWOOD, RETIRED.

HELENE N. WHITE, OF MICHIGAN, TO BE UNITED STATES CIRCUIT JUDGE FOR THE SIXTH CIRCUIT, VICE DAMON J. KEITH, RETIRED.